SAIS

# The Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute School of Advanced International Studies

November 30, 1984 9s \_ 10 \_\_\_

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CIA Headquarters National Intelligence Council Room 7E62 Washington, D.C. 20505

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Dear

The Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute —which, as you may know, I have agreed to chair— is currently sponsoring a Policy Study Group on U.S.—Soviet relations. The purpose of this group is to review the current state of U.S. relations with the Soviet Union, and to discuss policy options that should be considered during the months and years ahead. A list of the members of the group is enclosed with this letter.

I am writing to invite you to lead the discussion for the second of our meetings which is scheduled for December 17. More specifically, I would like to have you speak on the issue of Soviet defense policy in the context of U.S.-Soviet relations. As you see it, what is the Soviet perception of the past four years, and what are their current expectations concerning the resumption of arms control necotiations? To what extent is their preoccupation with SDI likely to influence Soviet thinking, and in what direction? Beyond arms control, can they be induced into a measure of political accomposation in selected areas —where, or why not? What do we know of the impact which existing political uncertainties in Moscow has or may have on their current attitudes and policies? In short, what is the Soviet outlook on what prevails now and what are their long-term security objectives?

These are all questions which our first guest speaker Richard Perle, covered from the perspective of the administration at the time of our first meeting on November 26. Needless to add, you may choose to address yourself to some of these questions only, or raise other related questions which you find more pertinent. In any case, your willingness to be with us on this occasion, combined with the quality of the group that will attend the meeting, ensures us of a discussion that will be especially stimulating and constructive.

A few final words about the logistics of the meeting. As indicated, it will be held on Monday, December 17. We will start at 6:00 p.m. promptly in Room 207 at SAIS, and pursue our discussion until approximately 10:00 p.m., with dinner served at 8:00 in Room 610. The dinner will be a working dinner, meaning by this that as coffee is being served, we will resume the debate that will have been initiated earlier following your remarks. I will chair the meeting, and we will have two rapporteurs who will be taking notes throughout the meeting.

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Please give me a call if you need any further information. Or should I be out of town, be in touch with Simon Serfaty, the executive director of the Institute.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold Brown

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Enclosure



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### "CURRENT SOVIET VIEWS OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS"

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Draft outline of proposed remarks at seminar chaired by Harold Brown, Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, School of Advanced International Studies

#### 17 December 1984

## I. Introduction

Ground rules: personal views, off the record

Scope of talk: survey of the pluses and minus in Soviet eyes, Moscow's case for political reengagement.

## II. Recent history

Optimism in the 1970s.

Uncertainty and growing pessimism from late 1970s onward.

September 1983-November 1984: The year of the deep freeze; Soviet political calculations; internal factors.

## III. Current situation

Soviet political leadership

Economic and social scene

The mixed Soviet foreign policy balance sheet

Current Soviet views of the US and its policies

## IV. Outlook

The Soviet political aim: a shifted US national security policy agenda, recreation (to the extent possible) of the atmosphere of the early 1970s.

Soviet strengths: Secretive policy apparatus, hot military production lines, diverse currents in the West.

Weaknesses: Political leadership situation, economic and techology deficiencies, difficulties in safely translating military power into political influence.

Approved For Release 2009/02/05: CIA-RDP86M00886R000600110006-1

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The key variables for Moscow: Internal dynamics (leadership and economy), Western political trends, changing strategic "geometry" (e.g. SDI, Ogarkov's line on new technologies), potential regional crises.

Conclusion: Soviet superpower strategy may be at an historic cross roads, but it may take years for Moscow to decide on new directions. In the meantime, it will play the angles.

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